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cultivation provides the opportunity. One fact, however, remains clear. Whatever the changes in its composition, the village remains first and foremost a kinship unit, of which the majority of the inhabitants are directly connected with the headman himself. Even in the communities built in the Kasama area, where natives chiefly assemble for the purpose of looking for white employment, it is still considered unusual to join a community unless some kind of relationship with the headman or some other influential member of the village can be established,[1] although of course, in this case the kinship groups are breaking into smaller and smaller units and the structure of the community is much less closely knit.

The principles of local association among the Bemba are two in number—the rule of primary matrilocal marriage and that of matrilineal descent. The first is the predominant factor in fixing residence, and the nucleus of a Bemba village is a matrilocal extended family composed of the headman, his married daughters, their husbands, and the latter's children. But each man is legally identified with his mother's lineage group and belongs to her clan. He is heir to his maternal grandfather, or maternal uncle, and may therefore leave his wife's village to succeed to an office among his mother's people. In any case, he has the right to remove his family to his matrilineal lineage group after some years of married life. He is the legal guardian of his sister and her children, subject to the rights of his sister's husband,[2] and hence may have to support her if her husband dies or deserts her. If his rank is high, or he has achieved a headmanship, he will find that male and female members of his lineage group will want to come and live with him, wherever they may have contracted a marriage. So that there are many occasions when the matrilocal family grouping breaks down and residence

[1] One of the few regular prostitutes in the Kasama area, who wanted to build herself a hut in a village near the town to follow her profession there, felt it necessary to trace a relationship to the headman in order to establish her right to do so. The kinship was fictitious, but, as the natives said in explanation, 'She kept giving the headman presents and saying she was his sister's daughter until he said: "All right. Build a hut over there." ' It was interesting that even an emancipated woman of this type apparently considered it essential to claim and occupy a recognized position in the local kinship group.

[2] There is a very even balance between the powers of the father and the maternal uncle nowadays—cf. my *Mother-right among the Central Bantu*. Essays presented to C. G. Seligman, 1934.

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[754] 241 177 bought cattle, and thus managed to acquire permission to 'build alone'. In 1929 a young tailor at work in a store at Kasama, who had spent some years in Southern Rhodesia with some relatives and had there seen maize cultivated on a large scale on a European farm, joined the community. He had saved money and built himself a four-roomed brick house a few yards outside Mubanga, with six huts around it for dependent relatives. He had then invested in a plough, with which he had put a field of about two acres under cultivation, and had planted maize European fashion. Mubanga village was, in fact, composed of a few individuals of unusual enterprise, much ahead of their contemporaries in outlook; two or three malefactors or unpopular persons living as outcasts near the European town under the cloak of the new economic [548] practices; a successful prostitute, who was paying two men to work her garden for her; a more or less floating population of wage-earners; and a nominee of the Paramount Chief, who constantly tried to keep control over the town natives by appointing one of his own relatives to the position of headman or headwoman.

241 To conclude, my description of the Bemba attitude to their food-stuffs showed their entire dependence on one staple crop, millet, which they consider as an absolutely essential food, and which has a special social and ritual value for them. In their agricultural life, millet cultivation is the dominant activity. It absorbs their energies and enthusiasm and its demands are put before that of any other crop. Fortunately its cultivation is simple according to the Bemba method, even if the latter is now unsuitable owing to its complete dependence on male labour. The ground cleared for millet is used with a good deal of skill for the planting of other crops in subsequent years even though these old burnt gardens are no longer used to the full owing to decreased man-power.

In growing his subsidiary crops the Bemba show considerable knowledge of the properties of different crops and the use of soils, especially in their cultivation of the village beds. But here sociological factors often militate against successful agriculture. Historical tradition and the native's attitude to different crops determine their willingness to grow them. Village sites may be chosen and moved for non-economic reasons. Various psychological factors prevent the natives from putting their maximum effort into mound-cultivation, and shortage of labour and the breakdown of the tribal education system have pronounced